

# From violence to empowerment: how candidates in the 2022 Brazilian presidential elections addressed women's rights and gender issues

Analysis by:



- *"Violence Against Women" was the most common political issue of posts from all candidates on social media and of the official government plans submitted by the four presidential front runners;*
- *On Facebook, both Lula and Ciro Gomes responded to data about gender violence in Brazil and suggested the previous administration was to blame, while Bolsonaro highlighted the tougher penalties for crimes against women enforced during his term and associated the increase in violence with the "left";*
- *"Empowerment and Representation" was the second most frequent campaign issue analysed from the posts of all 2022 candidates, especially from Soraya Thronicke and Lula e Ciro Gomes;*
- *Only Jair Bolsonaro, Sofia Manzano and Vera Lúcia mentioned "Abortion" on their social networks. While the former president declared his stance against abortion, the two other candidates defended its decriminalisation.*

The political landscape of women's rights and gender in the last presidential electoral period was centred primarily on violence against women, empowerment and representation, political participation, maternity, access to education, and abortion. Each candidate adopted a different approach to women and gender in their campaign, ranging from the former president's continuous association of women with family and care, to commentary about specific episodes of gender violence covered by the media, made by Simone Tebet, Soraya Thronicke, Vera Lúcia and Sofia Manzano. These are the results of the qualitative analysis of the official platform campaigns of the top four

presidential candidates and the quantitative analysis of Facebook and Twitter posts of the majority of candidates carried by **Democracy Reporting International** and the **Diversity and Inclusion Program at FGV Law School**.

## Methodology

This report analyses the way in which each major candidate in the 2022 Brazilian presidential election addressed gender and women's rights in their online communications and government plans during the 2022 elections. Based on quantitative and qualitative analysis methods, we studied the social media posts of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), Jair Bolsonaro (PL), Ciro Gomes (PDT), Simone Tebet (MDB), Vera Lúcia (PSTU), Sofia Manzano (PCB), Léo Péricles (UP), Soraya Thronicke (União Brasil) and Felipe D'Avila (Novo).<sup>1</sup>

We based our quantitative analysis on posts made by the candidates on Facebook and Twitter in period from March 1 to November 30, 2022<sup>2</sup>. We used topic modelling to identify the main trends in social media communications for the candidates. With a database of 8,817 posts on Facebook and 16,424 posts on Twitter, we created a subset of data based on a list of terms related to gender and women's rights. This list was created by the authors of this report based on discussions encompassing gender, politics, violence and other topics.

The qualitative analysis is based on the review of the official government plans of the four front runner candidates for the 2022 elections — namely: Lula, Bolsonaro, Simone Tebet and Ciro Gomes. The goal was to identify their proposals and policies targeting gender and women's rights issues.

## Analysis of the Government Plans

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<sup>1</sup> The candidate Kelson Luis da Silva Souza does not appear in the analysis because he does not have an official (verified) profile on the networks we analysed, and because the accounts registered with the Electoral Court are not owned by him, but by Roberto Jefferson – of whom Kelson was originally a vice candidate (<https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/divulga/#/candidato/2022/2040602022/BR/280001734029>).

<sup>2</sup> The analysis period was expanded in order to consider most of the electoral year, not only the official campaign period.

Each government plan addressed violence against women, gender pay equity, and investments in day care centres. Each of the four major candidates, Lula, Bolsonaro, Tebet and Ciro, recognized the importance of these issues and their disproportionate impact on the electorate, since the majority of electors are women.

There were also key differences: only Jair Bolsonaro and Ciro Gomes mentioned pregnancy prevention when addressing sexual and reproductive health. Bolsonaro addressed the “Primary Prevention of Early Sexual Risk and Teenage Pregnancy” and indicated that the main actors in the education of children are the parents, and not the State. Ciro addressed the topic in a general way, in a section focused on women and equal rights.

Additionally, Bolsonaro’s proposal was the only one that did not use the word “gender”, even though it had the highest most frequent mention of “women”. Lula’s plan was the only one to address “gender identities” and their recognition, and to explicitly address specific demands of Black women. Simone Tebet’s plan distinguished itself by delineating the demand for child care from the need for women’s inclusion in the labour market. Finally, only Ciro Gomes committed himself to placing women in leadership positions, in addition to listing measures for gender equality in the work environment and public service.

### *Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva*

- There were nine mentions of the words “woman” and “women” in Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva’s government plan<sup>3</sup>. The plan recognizes women as a group that is continuously subject to violence and provides for the implementation of policies aimed at reducing gender inequality in Brazil;
- This plan references the gender pay gap and addresses the need for higher representation of women in fields such as politics and entrepreneurship;

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<sup>3</sup> Available at:

<https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/candidaturas/oficial/2022/BR/BR/544/candidatos/280001607829/pje-3b1196fd-Proposta%20de%20governo.pdf> . Accessed on: March 15, 2023.

- Lula's plan also called attention to the needs of Black women, both explicitly (combating poverty and police violence) and implicitly (extending legal protection to domestic workers, who are predominantly Black women)<sup>4</sup>;



Top Tweet: *"My mother was illiterate, but she taught me never to raise my hand to a woman. We are not stronger, women are often braver than men. We must treat women with respect and equal pay".*

Bottom Tweet: *"Lula talks about the importance of Black people in politics and in various sectors of society as a way to fight racism and fight for democracy".*

Sources: Twitter and Facebook<sup>5</sup> | Elaborated by: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

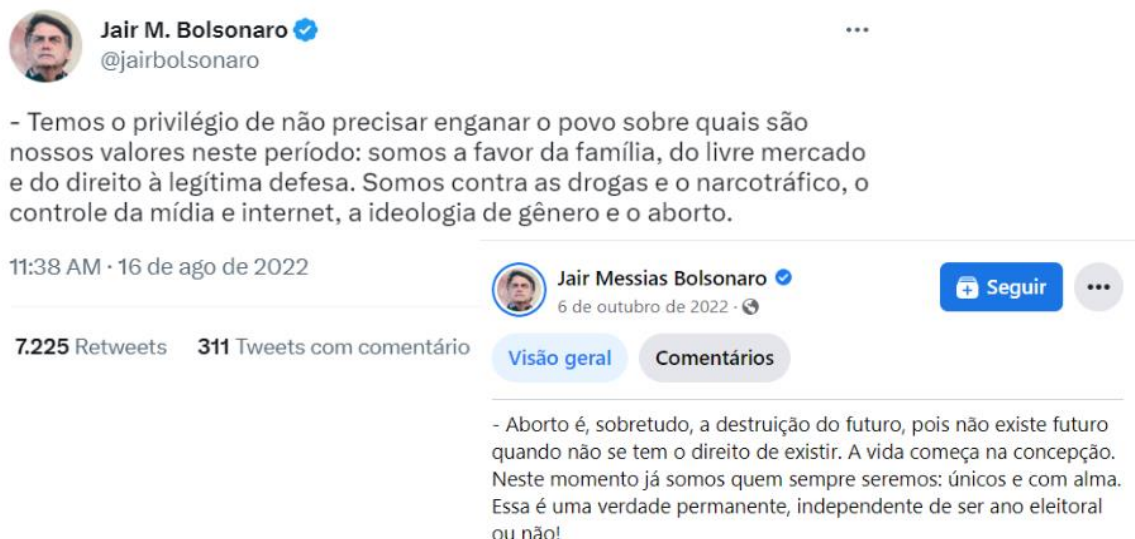
- In reference to Brazil's LGBTQIA+ population, only Lula's and Ciro Gomes' plans addressed the violence targeted at this group. Lula was the only candidate to mention the right to diverse expressions of gender identity;
- Lula's plan argues that the lack of protections for the LGBTQIA+ community is in opposition to a complete democracy. Together with women and the young Black population, his plan focuses on protection policies and places them in the context of public safety and security.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding the racial profile of the domestic workers' class in Brazil, see <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2022-04/mulheres-negras-sao-65-das-trabalhadoras-domesticas-no-pais>. Accessed on: Mar 20, 2023.

<sup>5</sup> The images included in this section of the report seek to exemplify some of the points expressed in the government plans analysed.

## Jair Bolsonaro

- The former president Jair Messias Bolsonaro mentioned the words “woman” and “women” more than three times as many as Lula in his government plan<sup>6</sup>, with a total of thirty three occurrences. On the other hand, there was no mention to the word “gender” or to the acronym “LGBTQIA+”;
- In general, the mentions are related to the role of women in families, to aspects involving their insertion in the job market, to entrepreneurship, and to their legal protection. The plan mentioned the word “femicide” four times, but there was no mention to domestic violence;
- The plan expressly links women with the traditional family and emphasises policies to assist maternity — this includes three mentions to the belief that life begins at conception. In this respect, there were mentions to the programs *Mães do Brasil*, *Pró-Vida* and *PraViver*;
- Still related to sexual and reproductive health, but focusing on children and teenagers, the plan also referenced the National Plan for Primary Prevention of Early Sexual Risk and Teenage Pregnancy;



<sup>6</sup> Available at:

[https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/candidaturas/oficial/2022/BR/BR/544/candidatos/908966/5\\_1660093698051.pdf](https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/candidaturas/oficial/2022/BR/BR/544/candidatos/908966/5_1660093698051.pdf). Accessed on Mar 15, 2023.

Top Tweet: *"We have the privilege of not having to deceive the people about what our values are in this period: we are in favour of the family, the free market and the right to self-defence. We are against drugs and drug trafficking, media and internet control, gender ideology and abortion".*

Bottom Facebook Post: *"Abortion is, above all, the destruction of the future, because there is no future when one does not have the right to exist. Life begins at conception. At this moment we are already who we will always be: unique and with a soul. This is the permanent truth, regardless of whether it is an election year or not."*

Sources: Twitter and Facebook | Elaborated by: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- The *Pátria Voluntária* program was mentioned to share potential actions designed specifically for mothers of vulnerable people and people affected by disabilities and rare diseases;
- Considering the women's inclusion in the labour market and its connection with the domestic labour, Bolsonaro's plan alludes to specific policies and programmes for entrepreneurs, such as *Brasil para Elas*, *Qualifica Mulher* and *Emprega Mais Mulher*, to the reduction of wage inequality, and to the balance between work and childcare — enabled, for example, through hybrid or remote work or by expanding the day care network;
- Like other candidates, Bolsonaro's plan mentioned the political participation of women, but only briefly and without mention of the low rates of women's representation still present in Brazilian politics<sup>7</sup>. Seen as a goal to strive for, the "participation of women in Congress" appeared right before the debate about entrepreneurship in his proposal;
- When addressing the fight against violence targeting women, treated as an urgent issue in his plan, Bolsonaro referenced the *National Plan to Fight Femicide*, the *Casa da Mulher Brasileira* project, and proposed the review of 70 laws whose contents defend, protect and promote women. The Mariana Ferrer Law, sanctioned by the former president, was also mentioned.

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<sup>7</sup> On this note, see the survey published by the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) and by UN Women, according to which Brazil still occupies the 129th position in the global ranking of women in parliament, with 17.7% of women in the Chamber of Deputies and 12.4% in Senate as of January 1, 2023. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2023/03/women-in-politics-map-2023>. Accessed on: Mar 22, 2023.

### *Simone Tebet*

- Simone Tebet's plan<sup>8</sup> had the most references to the word "gender" (three), while "woman" and "women" appeared eleven times. The acronym "LGBTQIA+" was used once when addressing the need to ensure equal opportunities for minority groups;
- Unlike the other candidates, Tebet also linked gender issues with housing policies by indicating a plan to resume the construction of houses subsidised by the State and prioritise families led by women as beneficiaries;
- Another difference is Tebet's goal to expand national child care coverage was not linked to women's inclusion in the labour market. Instead, Tebet linked its expansion to other policies in Early Childhood;
- On the other hand, like Ciro Gomes, Tebet indicated a policy to expand microcredit programmes for women. Like all the other candidates, she also mentioned incentives for entrepreneurship;
- To reduce systemic inequality, a key element of her platform, Tebet's plan allowed for the continued expansion of affirmative action schemes to promote more racial, social and gender equality, with a commitment to ensure parity between men and women in her Ministries – a proposal that also set her apart during the 2022 campaign;

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<sup>8</sup> Available at:

<https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/candidaturas/oficial/2022/BR/BR/544/candidatos/280001607833/pje-c6a5300b-Proposta%20de%20governo.pdf>. Accessed on: Mar 16, 2023.





**Simone Tebet** ✓  
@simonetebetbr

...

Precisamos de uma mulher para arrumar a casa e pacificar o país. Ser feminista é respeitar as mulheres e todos que pensam diferente. Precisamos de paz e união no Brasil! [#DebatenaBand](#) [#SimoneNaBand](#)

10:34 PM · 28 de ago de 2022

48 Retweets 4 Comentários 656 Curtidas



**Simone Tebet** está em São Paulo.  
16 de agosto de 2022 · 🌐

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Ontem participei do evento Mulheres na Política. Falei do nosso plano de governo e a importância de termos cada vez mais participação feminina na vida pública. Conversamos sobre o futuro do país e o papel decisivo das mulheres. A conclusão é que juntas somos fortes e vamos mudar o Brasil!

Essa é uma bandeira da Coligação Brasil pra Todos [MDB Nacional](#) [PSDB Cidadania](#) [23 Podemos 19](#)

[#SimoneTebet](#) [#SimoneTebet15](#) [#Simone15](#) [#ElasSim](#) [#MDBcomSimone15](#) 🍷

Top Tweet: "We need a woman to put the house in order and pacify the country. Being a feminist is respecting women and everyone who thinks differently. We need peace and unity in Brazil."

Bottom Tweet: "Yesterday I attended the Women In Politics event. I spoke about our government plan and the importance of having more and more female participation in public life. We talked about the future of the country and the decisive role of women. The conclusion is that together we are stronger and we will change Brazil."

Sources: Twitter and Facebook | Elaborated by: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- When addressing health policy, Tebet's program specified eight priority groups and included and differentiated women's health from maternal and child health; however, there was no specification of what each policy entails;
- Tebet's plan, like Lula's, made explicit mention of femicide and domestic violence as crimes that need to be fought. As a proposal, her plan stated the goal to expand the Maria da Penha patrols as a part of the National Pact to Fight Violence against Women.



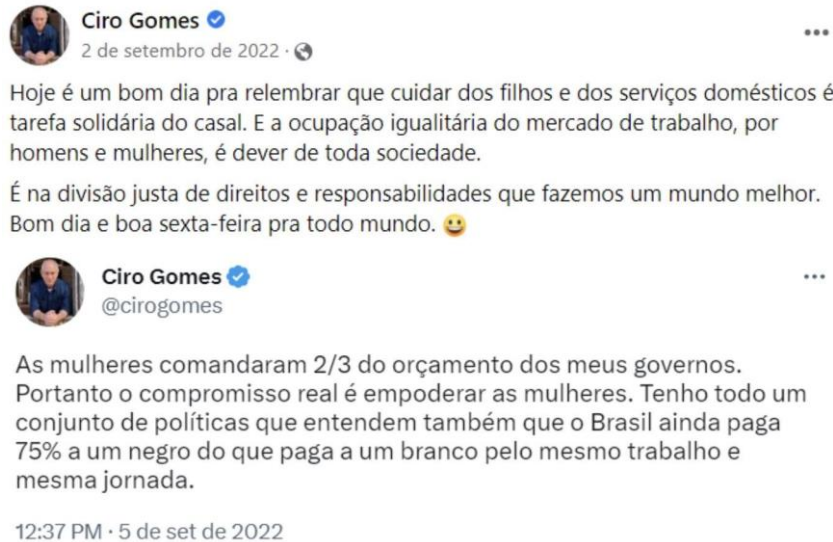
### *Ciro Gomes*

- In *Ciro Gomes' government plan*<sup>9</sup>, the words "woman" or "women" appeared five times, while the word "gender" appeared one time. Variations of the acronym LGBTQIA+ were mentioned five times, four of which appeared in the section where the candidate makes a commitment to ensure equality for women, the Black population, Indigenous peoples and people affected by disabilities;
- References to the fight against violence, like in *Lula's proposal*, also encompassed women, the young Black youth population and the LGBTQIA+ population as a focus of policies to prevent crimes;
- Still on that topic, there was an explicit mention to the *National Plan to Fight Violence against Women* and its inclusion in the National Public Security Policy, based on Law No. 14.330/2022;
- Regarding the job market, *Ciro's plan* stands out from the others by not only addressing the inequality between men and women, but also by explicitly mentioning women's access to leadership positions in both private and public institutions;

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<sup>9</sup> Available at:

[https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/candidaturas/oficial/2022/BR/BR/544/candidatos/882713/5\\_1659989903215.pdf](https://divulgacandcontas.tse.jus.br/candidaturas/oficial/2022/BR/BR/544/candidatos/882713/5_1659989903215.pdf). Accessed on: Mar 16, 2023.



Top Tweet: *"Today is a good day to remember that looking after the children and the housework is a joint task for the couple. And the equal occupation of the labour market by men and women is the duty of society as a whole. It is in the fair division of rights and responsibilities that we make a better world. Good morning and happy Friday to everyone".*

Bottom Tweet: *"Women command two-thirds of my government's budget. So the real commitment is to empower women. I have a whole set of policies that also understand that Brazil still pays a black man 75% of what a white man pays for the same work and the same working hours".*

Sources: Twitter and Facebook | Elaborated by: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- Regarding employability and income, the plan indicates a goal to increase national childcare coverage and implementing microcredit programs aimed specifically at women;
- Regarding sexual and reproductive health, the document presented by Ciro provides for the implementation of information programs with the goal of preventing pregnancy.

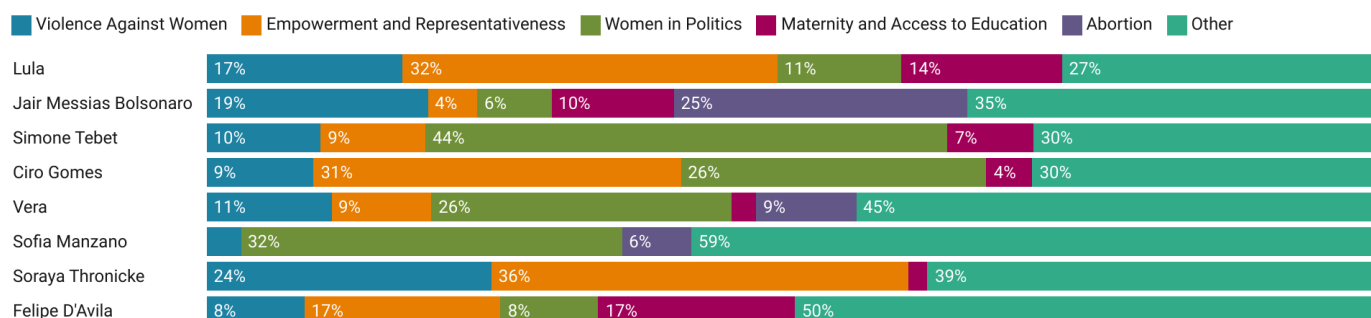
## Analysis of the candidates' social networks: Major topics used in posts discussing gender and women's rights online

Topic modelling is a data analysis technique to identify and extract significant topics from a large set of unstructured data, such as social media posts. With a pre-trained model<sup>10</sup>, it is possible to identify clusters or groups of words. Based on these clusters, we are able to understand which posts can be grouped, and how they are distributed and related to each other.

This report took into account all statements made by the candidates from March 1 to November 30, 2022 (including those made before they were formal candidates) dealing with gender issues. The graph below shows the breakdown of the most debated topics on Facebook by percentage, indicating the priorities and perspectives of each candidate when addressing gender and women's rights issues.

### Graph 1: Percentage of posts per candidate per topic related to gender

Period: March 1 to November 30, 2022



The graph shows in percentage how much a candidate discussed a specific topic among all gender-related posts.

Created with Datawrapper

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: Democracy Reporting International (DRI)

<sup>10</sup> The model used is called [BERTimbau](#). It is a BERT model that is pre-trained for Brazilian Portuguese, reaching state-of-the-art performance in three NLP tasks.

## *Violence against women*

- Violence against women is the only topic that appeared in posts made by all of the candidates. Disregarding the category “Other”<sup>11</sup>, it represents more than 20% of the publications made on Facebook;
- The candidate Soraya Thronicke made the most statements about the topic, mentioning mostly the provisions of the Maria da Penha Law and the need to fight domestic violence. She also mentioned bills whose goal would be to offer “more effective action” to protect women, such as PL 1.928/2021<sup>12</sup>, which “authorizes the commercialization, acquisition, possession and carrying of pepper sprays and electroshock weapons for personal defense”;
- In addition, Thronicke also indicated her own contributions to the issue, mentioning funds she raised for actions and projects through her mandate as Senator and legislative proposals she presented, such as altering the Maria da Penha Law (PL 3.154/2019) and increasing protection for victims of domestic violence<sup>13</sup>;
- Similarly, Bolsonaro also mentioned more severe penalties for crimes of violence against women in his administration. Although he made no explicit mention to bills that could make it easier for women to arm themselves, as Soraya did, he made general remarks about having increased their right to self-defense<sup>14</sup>;

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<sup>11</sup> This topic encompasses posts that do not fit the analysis categories used to prepare this report, either because they refer to women in a general way or because they address sparse topics that do not allow for comparisons.

<sup>12</sup> Available at: <https://www25.senado.leg.br/web/atividade/materias/-/materia/148552>. Accessed on: Mar 22, 2023.

<sup>13</sup> Available at: <https://legis.senado.leg.br/sdleg-getter/documento?dm=9188905&disposition=inline>. Accessed on: Mar 22, 2023.

<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, in other occasions during the last election year, Bolsonaro made explicit associations between gun ownership for women and an alleged increase in their ability to defend themselves. Available at: <https://oglobo.globo.com/politica/eleicoes-2022/noticia/2022/07/bolsonaro-defende-armamento-para-mulheres-em-encontro-com-empresarias-em-sp.ghml>. Accessed on: Mar 24, 2023.



**Soraya Thronicke** ✓

26 de julho de 2022 · 🌐



Você conhece a triste história de violência doméstica sofrida pela **Barbara Penna**? Bárbara é sobrevivente de uma tentativa de feminicídio brutal, e que hoje luta para salvar outras mulheres da violência doméstica.

O crime foi a inspiração para o projeto que apresentei recentemente no **Senado Federal** em que tive a honra de contar com o apoio de **Sergio Moro** e da **Rosangela Moro** na construção da proposta.

O PL busca reforçar a proteção das vítimas de violência doméstica, especialmente contra a reiteração das ameaças, com possibilidade de transferência do agressor para presídios em um local mais distante da residência da vítima, até mesmo para outro Estado da federação.

Chega de violência! Não se cale, denuncie **#Disque180**



**Jair Messias Bolsonaro** ✓

1 de julho de 2022 · 🌐

- Isso pode afetar pessoas muito sensíveis, mas é uma verdade que não pode ser ignorada. A violência está, sim, em todos os lugares e deve ser combatida, nós inclusive endurecemos penas para crimes contra a mulher, a diferença é que para o crime organizado essa violência é lei.

- É comum ver mulheres sendo gravadas e submetidas a práticas absurdamente cruéis, que fariam inveja a qualquer grupo terrorista. Muitas pagam por motivos banais, como viver num lugar dominado por uma facção e estar em uma região dominada pelo grupo rival.

- Não há ambiente mais nocivo às mulheres do que os dominados pelo narcotráfico. Usar figuras femininas para amenizar a imagem dos que apóiam essas práticas é não apenas colaborar com o crime, mas fazer demagogia manipulando inocentes, que serão as primeiras vítimas dos criminosos.

- Enquanto uns vivem de falsas promessas e frases de efeito para enganar o público feminino, nós temos enfrentado esse verdadeiro mal, endurecendo penas para crimes contra mulher, reduzindo a violência, ampliando o direito de se defender e atacando fortemente o crime organizado.

Left post from Soraya Thronicke: *"Do you know the sad story of domestic violence suffered by Barbara Penna? Barbara is a survivor of a brutal femicide attempt, and who today fights to save other women from domestic violence. The crime was the inspiration for the bill that I recently presented in the Federal Senate, in which I had the honour to count on the support of Sergio Moro and Rosangela Moro in the construction of the proposal. The bill seeks to strengthen the protection of victims of domestic violence, especially against repeated threats, with the possibility of transferring the aggressor to prisons further away from the victim's residence, even to another state of the federation. Enough of violence! Do not be silent, report #Disque180."*

Right post from Bolsonaro: *"- This may affect very sensitive people, but it is a truth that cannot be ignored. Violence is indeed everywhere and must be fought against, we have even toughened penalties for crimes against women, the difference is that for organised crime this violence is law.*

*- It is common to see women being recorded and subjected to absurdly cruel practices that would make any terrorist group jealous. Many pay for trivial reasons, such as living in a place dominated by a faction and being in a region dominated by the rival group.*

*- There is no environment more harmful to women than those dominated by drug trafficking. To use female figures to soften the image of those who support these practices is not only to collaborate with crime, but to demagogue by manipulating innocent people, who will be the first victims of the criminals.*

*- While some live on false promises and catch phrases to fool the female public, we have confronted this real evil, toughening penalties for crimes against women, reducing violence, expanding the right to defend oneself, and strongly attacking organised crime".*

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- The former president also implied that the increase in violence rates was associated with the "left". In at least two occasions, he mentioned "drug trafficking", "left" and "violence" as correlated topics, indicating that "there is

no environment more harmful to women than areas dominated by drug trafficking”<sup>15</sup>;

- On the other hand, Lula and Ciro Gomes mentioned gender violence indicators in Brazil, such as “one femicide is reported every 6 hours”<sup>16</sup>, to highlight its severity and suggest that the former administration made the situation worse;
- Regarding domestic violence and the family environment, Lula mentioned that the Maria da Penha Law was sanctioned during his first presidential mandate; that his social aid program *Bolsa Família* increased women’s income and independence, reducing domestic violence rates; and that women are the biggest victims of gun liberation;



Left post from Lula: *"The disregard for women's safety is notable in the Bolsonaro government."* Attached is a picture of former Minister for Women, the Family and Human Rights, Damare Alves with the text "Budget for combating violence against women is the lowest in four years".

Top right post from Ciro Gomes: *"Only four countries in the world have worse indicators than Brazil for crimes against women. And the fact that we have a president like Bolsonaro only makes this terrible picture of inequality worse".*

<sup>15</sup> Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/522422702568489/posts/603211881156237>. Accessed on: Mar 22, 2023.

<sup>16</sup> Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/532393804914307/posts/601742851312735>. Accessed on: Mar 22, 2023.



Bottom right post from Simone Tebet: *"In today's #TBTebet, I remember my visit to the first humanised service centre for victims of domestic violence in Brazil, the Casa da Mulher Brasileira, in Campo Grande/MS. The House was established when I was vice-governor of the state. Today, it welcomes and assists victims. It is an important project that needs to be extended to all of Brazil in order to combat and inhibit violence against women".*

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- All of the female candidates published posts denouncing episodes of gender violence covered by the media in the analysed period<sup>17</sup>, with Tebet and Lula making publications to celebrate the National Day to Fight Violence against Women (October 10). Soraya Thronicke, Vera Lúcia and Léo Pércles also celebrated the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (November 25);
- The frequency of the topic reflects the widespread and structural dimension of the issue, as seen in the following statement made by Vera Lúcia: "There isn't a day when we don't watch the news and come across stories of violence against women. It's appalling. It's repulsive, disgusting, and there's a realisation of how difficult it is to fight this sexism that's so naturalised and rooted in the capitalist system"<sup>18</sup>;

### **Empowerment and Representation**

- In turn, the second topic mentioned by almost all candidates encompassed posts about female empowerment and representation in a wide sense. There were publications praising female leaders and associating them with words such as "fight", "strength", "courage" and "warriors";

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<sup>17</sup> Vera Lúcia, Soraya Thronicke and Simone Tebet mentioned the cases of sexual violence targeting women during the war in Ukraine, which were covered by the media mostly in March and April of 2022.

<sup>18</sup> Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/538551947634510/posts/611475350342169>. Accessed on: Mar 17, 2023.





**Ciro Gomes** ✓

5 de agosto de 2022 · 🌐

Muito honrado e emocionado de ter essa mulher forte, inteligente e guerreira como nossa vice! Seja bem-vinda, Ana Paula – vamos juntos, com muita fé e esperança, mudar o Brasil!



**Soraya Thronicke** ✓

6 de setembro de 2022 · 🌐

Sempre fui uma mulher aguerrida em tudo o que faço.  
No Senado, estou sempre pronta para virar uma fera em defesa das pessoas do meu estado. Não tolero desrespeito contra as mulheres e não levo desaforo pra casa.  
É assim que eu encarro os desafios: com muita garra e Deus no coração. Vamos juntas! Estou na luta com vocês.

#Soraya44 #UniãoBrasil #SorayaThronicke #Vote44 #VoteSoraya44

Top post from Ciro Gomes: *"Very honoured and thrilled to have this strong, intelligent and warrior woman as our Vice President! Welcome, Ana Paula -- let's go together, with faith and hope to change Brazil."*

Bottom post from Soraya Thronicke: *"I have always been a feisty woman in everything I do. In the Senate, I am always ready to be a beast in defence of the people of my state. I don't tolerate disrespect against women and I don't take insults home with me. This is how I face challenges: with a lot of strength and God in my heart. Let's go together! I am in the fight with you".*

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- Soraya Thronicke, Lula and Ciro Gomes had more than 30% of their posts associated with this topic; however, Thronicke stood out with her calls to action and the solidarity of her messages, while her male colleagues seemed to adopt a posture of deference and recognition of women's demands;
- By praising women in the political field, Thronicke and Ciro Gomes mentioned only those in their respective parties. For instance, Thronicke mentioned the city councillor Flávia Francischini when commenting on an event organised by her to gather women, as well as the actress Maria Paula, a pre-candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in her party<sup>19</sup>. In turn, Ciro mentioned his vice, Ana Paula, as well as the affiliation of volleyball player Leila to the PDT party, and praised the political trajectory of Martha Rocha, a congresswoman for his party in Rio de Janeiro, on her birthday;

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<sup>19</sup> In the beginning of August 2022, Maria Paula withdrew her candidacy. Available at: <https://blogs.correiobraziliense.com.br/cbpoder/maria-paula-deixa-uniao-brasil-e-desiste-de-candidatura/>. Accessed on: Mar 22, 2023.

- Some of the posts aggregated in this topic were also directly related to International Women's Day (March 8) and to Mother's Day (May 8), during which the candidates made celebratory publications.

### *Women in Politics*

- A similar pattern can be seen in Simone Tebet's posts about the topic "women in politics". Leading in mentions to the topic, the candidate made comparisons between her own political trajectory, her involvement in projects to increase the participation of women in politics, and the importance of female leadership. In addition, she sometimes opposed the government of then-President Jair Bolsonaro, indicating that his attitude does not intimidate her and should not intimidate other women;
- During her official campaign period, Tebet led the mentions to the topic, followed by Soraya Thronicke. Both of them adopted more incisive tones to protect their own candidacies and defend women's rights in general. After the first presidential debate, Tebet published: "In the Band debate, I bravely defended our candidacy and all Brazilian women. We are not afraid"<sup>20</sup>.

### *Maternity and access to education*

- Once again, not unlike the analysis of government plans, the posts analysed indicated that the agenda of access to education for children – more specifically, expanding day care coverage – was associated with maternity and the women's inclusion in the job market;
- Topics such as hunger, unemployment and inflation, also arose, contextualising the need to invest in public care policies due to the seriousness of the economic scenario;
- In this context, Simone Tebet mentioned that there were 3 million children without access to daycare centres and 5 million in extreme poverty, reinforcing her commitment to the protection of Early Childhood;

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<sup>20</sup> Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/527346392093796/posts/625367432291691>. Accessed on: Mar 18, 2023.

- Even though Tebet established an association between early childhood education and maternity in her posts on Facebook, she did so from the perspective that mothers and children deserve specific treatment, as in the case of the program *Mãe Brasileira* proposed by the candidate. To that end, she also highlighted her role as a mother;
- Soraya Thronicke also drew parallels with her own motherhood when commenting on the precarious situation of children in Brazil, and her plans to transform it. Lula, on the other hand, referred to his mother's life story, mentioning the difficulties she faced when raising him and expressing a desire that all mothers be able to send their sons and daughters to school during his government.

### *Abortion*

- The “Abortion” topic was led by then-candidate Jair Bolsonaro, who openly opposed this dimension of women's sexual autonomy and negatively associated the decriminalisation agenda with the “left”;
- On the other hand, the candidates Vera Lúcia and Sofia Manzano, who are across the political spectrum from the former president, were the only others to also express themselves explicitly on the subject on their social networks<sup>21</sup>, defending the legalisation;

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<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that Lula also expressed himself on the subject during the elections, but not in posts that were identified and included in this analysis. See, for example: <https://g1.globo.com/sp/sao-paulo/eleicoes/2022/noticia/2022/10/07/lula-participa-de-caminhada-com-apoiadores-na-grande-sao-paulo.ghtml>. Accessed on: Mar 17, 2023.



Ainda falta conquistar o acesso ao aborto legal no sistema público de saúde, bem como faltam consolidar diversas conquistas dessa constituinte.

Mas estou muito feliz por essa conquista das mulheres Chilenas e da [María Rivera Constituyente](#) que esteve nessa batalha na constituinte e antes dela.

Ajude a compartilhar, pois estamos todos precisando de boas notícias!

E não deixe de seguir a página do MIT Chile Lit-Ci, nossos camaradas do Chile tem iniciativas muito legais!

#direitodedecidir #abortolegal #abortolegalseguroegratuito #vidadasmulheres



Eu fui a primeira pré candidata a defender o aborto legal. Para nós, comunistas, essa é uma pauta importante. Não fazemos concessão por causa de cálculos eleitorais.

#aborto  
#abortolegal  
#PoderPopular



O [#abortolegal](#) não é uma questão moral, é uma questão de saúde pública.

Todos os anos, milhares de mulheres, de todas as classes sociais e de várias religiões, fazem aborto clandestino.

As ricas saem tranquilas de suas clínicas caras.

As pobres saem mutiladas ou mortas.



4 comentários 18 compartilhamentos

Top post from Vera: *"We still have to win access to legal abortion in the public health system, as well as consolidate several achievements of this constituent. But I am very happy for this achievement of the Chilean women and María Rivera Constituent, who was in this battle in the constituent and before it".*

Middle post from Sofia Manzano: *"I was the first pre-candidate to defend abortion. For us communists, this is an important agenda. We do not make concessions because of electoral calculations".*

Bottom post from Sofia Manzano: *"Legal abortion is not a moral issue, it is a public health issue. Every year, thousands of women, from all social classes and various religions, have clandestine abortions. The rich come out of their clandestine clinics calmly. The poor leave mutilated or dead".*

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- In their posts, Vera Lúcia and Manzano addressed the consequences of the criminalization of abortion for poor women, contextualising the agenda with legislative changes in other countries such as Chile.

## About the project **Media and Democracy**

#005 • MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY PROJECT

The **School of Communication, Media and Information at Fundação Getulio Vargas** (FGV ECMI) and the **European Union** (EU) have established a partnership to collaborate on strengthening the Brazilian democracy and the integrity of digital spaces. The initiative is called the **Media and Democracy Project** and will be carried out in conjunction with the fact-checking platform **Lupa**, the German center for public debate analysis **Democracy Reporting International** (DRI), the Diversity and Inclusion Program and the Center for Technology and Society, both from **FGV Direito Rio**, focusing on debates on gender issues, racial inequality, minority rights, hate speech and other important issues for Brazilian politics. The project includes digital media monitoring and analysis, information checking, and the creation of a Council to serve as a public space for the promotion of positive conversations with the participation of researchers, the civil society, public representatives, and platform representatives.

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Autorship:

This report was written by the Diversity and Inclusion Program of [FGV Rio de Janeiro Law School](#) (FGV Direito Rio) and [Democracy Reporting International](#) (DRI), with data analysis conducted by both institutions, and collection and visualisation developed by Democracy Reporting International (DRI).

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